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United States Department of State

Washington, D. C. 20520

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January 26, 1983

BRIEFING MEMORANDUM
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TO: The Secretary

FROM: EA - Paul Wolfowitz

SUBJECT: Your Visit to China

I. OBJECTIVES

Your visit to China affords an opportunity to preserve and advance the important strategic gains we have derived over the past decade from rapprochement with China. It comes at a critical time in our efforts to forge greater unity among our friends and allies in an effort to induce more responsible and less threatening behavior on the part of the Soviet Union. US-China rapprochement has also been a powerful force for stability in Asia and can complement our policies in the Middle East and Africa. All US allies and friends, in Europe and Asia, wish to see continued positive development in US-China relations.

The purpose of your trip is to arrest drift, put our relations on a more stable footing, and impart renewed momentum that will enable us, gradually, to revive important aspects of the relationship that have languished while promoting steady expansion in most, if not all, areas. For this purpose, it is important to persuade the Chinese leadership at the highest level to view our relationship in the broad perspective of common interests and benefits and to join with us in rebuilding trust and confidence.

You should make a strong global foreign policy presentation conveying a clear sense that we are now embarked on a steady and effective course which takes into account not only Soviet aggression and expansionism but also the aspirations of the poor nations of the world. In discussing our approach to the Soviet Union and arms control, you should remind the Chinese that we will take their interests into account as we deal with Moscow; and we will expect them to take account of ours in their talks with the USSR.

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Regionally, you need to engage your counterparts on the Middle East, southwest and southeast Asia, southern Africa, and Korea. You should reiterate our concerns regarding China's nuclear export policy and Pakistan's nuclear program. You should also let them know that Chinese criticisms of us as superpower hegemonists, lumped with the Soviet Union and/or blamed for all the world's ills, are counterproductive.

On the bilateral side, you should convey, on behalf of the President, a strong desire to place US-China relations on a stable, realistic foundation so that we can make renewed and steady progress in the decade ahead. You should seek to pin down dates for a visit by Premier Zhao, set up the possibility of a Weinberger visit, revive the process of regular exchanges on international issues that were held at the Under Secretary level from normalization until the Taiwan arms sales issue intervened, and propose that the two sides engage in periodic working-level consultations. You should voice support for China's economic development policies; express our willingness to make a sustained contribution, through private and, where feasible, official channels; and emphasize the need to develop better understanding and streamlined mechanisms on both sides to facilitate interaction between our two economies.

Taiwan, technology transfer, textiles, and the Hu Na political asylum case will be on the list of bilateral issues your Chinese hosts will want to discuss. While avoiding sterile rehashing, you should be prepared to discuss these bilateral irritants in a full and frank manner. You should also propose resumption of negotiations on nuclear cooperation; find an opportunity to express our appreciation for the Chinese decision to stop exports of the drug methaqualone, [redacted] and say how much we look forward to dealing with the new Chinese ambassador to the US, Zhang Wenjin.

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II. STRATEGY

Following well-established patterns of the past, the first two days of your visit will consist of talks at the ministerial level; and your meetings with the top political leadership will be reserved for the third and fourth days, culminating with a meeting with Deng Xiaoping. One underlying theme you will want to stress in all of your meetings is the importance the US places on good relations with China.

You will have two, and possibly three, meetings with Foreign Minister Wu; and you should seek to focus them on foreign policy matters. In your opening meeting, you should present our overall foreign policy approach and emphasize the role that strong US-China relations can play in promoting world peace and stability. Subsequent meetings with Wu should focus on regional issues and those few bilateral issues that are strictly within

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the foreign policy realm (e.g., Taiwan arms sales and political asylum). Other bilateral issues, such as technology transfer and textiles, should be reserved for meetings with the officials most directly concerned. You should also seek to gain Wu's agreement to a regular program of exchanges at the Under Secretary and the Deputy Assistant Secretary/Country Director levels.

You can reserve discussion of the Middle East and Africa for your meeting with Premier Zhao (with Foreign Minister Wu in attendance). Zhao and Wu have just concluded a month-long trip to those areas. You should seek their impressions, explain our approach, and underscore the need for constructive approaches to problems in these areas. You should engage in a full discussion of the bilateral relationship with Zhao and also seek his agreement to specific dates for his visit to the US.

Discussion of the global economic situation will be an introductory theme for your meeting with Vice Minister of Foreign Economic Relations and Trade Jia Shi. You will want to stress the seriousness with which we view the global economic situation and the need for cooperation by all countries if the world trading and investment system is to operate smoothly. You should also explain briefly how the US is acting to deal with its own economic difficulties.

You should make the point in all of your meetings that the US stands ready to develop the relationship further. Working-level Foreign Ministry officials have strongly hinted that it would be useful for you to underscore, throughout your discussions, the substantial and growing number of export licenses we have approved for technology transfer. You should reserve specific discussions on possible areas of future cooperation to those most directly involved, e.g., economic matters with Jia Shi, and S&T matters with Chairman of the State Science and Technology Commission Fang Yi.

Finally, you will meet with Deng toward the end of your visit; and the outcome of this meeting will be the key to determining the visit's success. It will be essential to establish an atmosphere of mutual respect and trust and to convince Deng not only of the value we place on the relationship but also of our long-term reliability. You also need to remind Deng of the great value both sides are deriving from the relationship as it exists today.

The degree to which these objectives are achieved will determine the degree to which both sides can rise above lesser disagreements and/or rhetorical differences and renew a relationship based on mutual recognition of the common interests and bilateral benefits that formed the basis for the evolution of the US-China relationship during its first decade.

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